THE DOMOND OF THE NORTH TINDAREE FOREST (KIPKUNGER)

HISTORY

193 It is clear from traditions of the Kiwok, Mawai, and Kikony, as well as of the Dendro themselves, that the Dendro (wherever their origins) were living in the Kamet Highlands when the Nile-Hamites and Bantu arrived there. Their need of the Dendro hardwood land on land which under the Dutch Administration became Native Reserves (Native Land Units), the land rights of these groups were accepted as far as mere domicile was concerned. But the writers, Dendro, including the Kipkunger, occupied land which was excluded from Native Land Units and became mainly Forest Reserves: hence their land rights were not considered.

C48 433 About 1927 the Government began to investigate the possibility of removing these Dendro, largely on the grounds that occupation of Forest Reserves by semi-nomadic natives was undesirable, and in 1937 the Kipkunger, the principal group involved, were transferred to the Kiwok Land Unit. This move was not successful, for within a few months most if not all of them transferred land usage back to the edge of the North Tindaree forest, their old home, where they were living permanently when I did field-work among them in 1938-9.

[[14]]

DEMOGRAPHY

●161 The Kipkunger Dendro of the western part of the North Tindaree Forest Reserve numbered 230 when I made a census of them in 1938-39. Since part of the latter was no longer, as formerly, living in the forest, it was found necessary to classify the people according to the nature of their domicile at that time, and this resulted in the distinction of four "domicile categories":

162

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 6,000 ft. and over.

B. Furnished on the edge of the forest, mainly between 7,000 and 6,000 ft., and within a mile of the edge of the forest.

C. Furnished on Native Reserve (Land Unit) within 10 miles of the forest in natural conditions generally similar to B, but sometimes at a slightly lower altitude.

D. Distant areas, i.e., the Kaya and Kamanga Land Units, and Lalbigin; in the first two there is country similar to A.

People classed under C and D were still considered to belong to the bands, and were regarded as members of their original districts (forest), and accordingly the census can be analysed (1) by districts, with domicile categories, and (2) by districts, according to sex and age:

(1)

Domicile category	Kipkunger	Kamanga	Kalgoi	% of total	Totals
A	0	10	0	0	10
B	35	60	46	41	141
C	10	35	11	56	57
D	0	5	33	1	38
Unknown	0	0	0	1	0
	45	110	90	100	245

Schlegelova Q-5 (ca. 1934) 197-98
FLA Dorobo File

clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several lawyers at the present time. *Wakore* and *Wakiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Wakore* collectively) are the last with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekito, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Wakore* is at Tukumani.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Wakore* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Tukumani.

The *Wakore* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Wakore* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, homeless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Wakore* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

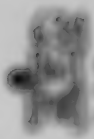
[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 177. [4] *Ahaw*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as useless.

women and they own. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening and other Bukusu state that the *Ayaywaandi* live on Mount. I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Ayaywaandi* of Mulaja live on Mount, and so do many *Ayaywaandi* in the central areas of Trans-Nzoia Reserve, but I suggest that the Dondo living on the north-east of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plains (north-west of the Ngorongoro Crater), who live a purely bush life, are also *Ayaywaandi*.* Lukio was positive in the assertion that all the Dondo living on and in the northern areas of the Trans-Nzoia Mount Elgon Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dondo in the Kenya Mount Elgon Reserve,* are *Ayaywaandi*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there are to be another type of Dondo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Ayaywaandi* and *Bukidiga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dondo in Kenya, and that the Dondo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Trans-Nzoia Mount Elgon Reserve are almost all *Ayaywaandi*.

The *Ayaywaandi* of Mulaja are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.* They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Ayaywaandi* living further north (notably those to the west of the Elgon Wall at Sanjan, Sabei and Pokigai) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai on whom the chance presents itself.* They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Ayaywaandi* is their language. It is guttural to the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Nilotic*

* See p. 121, fn. 1. The Dondo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, conceivably, have been *Ayaywaandi*.
* Absent given to mention.
* I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dondo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.
* According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.



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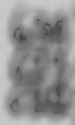

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